

Business Notices.

KEEP IT HANDY FOR SUDDEN EMERGENCIES.—An attack of Cholera is generally preceded by a slight diarrhea or disarrangement of the bowels, which, when properly treated, checks, and often eradicates the disease in its incipient stage. No better remedy can be found for this diarrhea, or for any affection of the bowels, than JAYNES' CHOLERA REMEDY, a safe, prompt and effective medicine which has maintained its popularity for 30 years, and which every body would do well to provide themselves with. Sold everywhere.

REMOVAL! REMOVAL! HERBERT'S GOLDEN BITTERS! The New York Office of Geo. C. Hubbel & Co., Proprietors of HERBERT'S GOLDEN BITTERS and MEDICINE, 100 NASSAU ST., New York, has removed to No. 21 Canal St., Office of Robinson & Spurr, Manufacturers of STEWART'S CATHARTIC.

THANKS TO MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP, we have been relieved from sleepless nights of painful watching with your suffering, darling children. It gives not only rest, but vigor and health to the little fellow who will wake up bright, cheerful and robust—without the usual, cruel, and repulsive effects of the bowels.

DR. B. C. FERRY.—Dr. FERRY, the celebrated Dermatologist, whose special treatment of the Hair, Scalp and Face, has made him a world-wide reputation, will leave this city about the 1st of August for his Boston office, to be absent six weeks; until that time he can be consulted at No. 43 Broadway, New-York.

J. TAYLOR'S FAMOUS, Nos. 365 and 367 Broadway, will bring down the business will be continued at No. 37 Broadway.

LEAVETT'S SWITZERLAND. For cleaning and renovating the teeth, giving firmness and tone to the gums, imparting sweetness to the breath, and offering a delightfully refreshing relief to the tongue. For sale everywhere. Try it once; you will use no other. Depot, No. 12 N. 1st St.

MARVIN'S NEW PATENT ALUM AND DRY PLASTER. First and best. GILBERT PLASTER. Also a large assortment of Plaster and other articles. Depot, No. 12 N. 1st St.

THE ELLIOTT LOCK-STITCH SEWING-MACHINE, with the latest improvements and attachments. It is the most perfect and reliable of all the Sewing-Machines. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St.

PINKER & LYON'S NEW Family Sewing-Machine. Agents wanted. One machine free of charge. No. 91 Broadway.

FOR RUBBER, PILES, CUTS, SORES, BRUISES, OLD SORES, SALT RHEUM, and all skin diseases, we know of no remedy so safe and certain as FAY'S MEDICAL FAIR EXTRACTOR. Sold by all Druggists, and at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

HAIR RESTORER.—A new invention. Price \$5. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

DR. LANGWORTH'S NEW PREMIUM TRUSS CUTS. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

WILCOX & GIBBS SEWING MACHINE. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

THE AMY AND LEO, by B. FRANK PATTERSON, LL.D.—The best of all the new novels, and one of the most interesting and powerful. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

AMERICAN WATCHMAN WATCHES.—BENEDICT BROS. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

AMERICAN POPULAR LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

THE ALPHA NOVELLES LOCK-STITCH SEWING-MACHINE. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

TRUSS, ELASTIC STOCKINGS, SUSPENSORY BANDAGES, SUPPORTERS, &c.—MARRAS & CO.'S PATENT TRUSS. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

MOTTS' CHEMICAL POMADE RESTORES GRAY HAIR, and gives it the color of youth, removes dandruff, and keeps the scalp cool. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

FLORENCE LOCK-STITCH SEWING-MACHINE.—Best in the world. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

IMPROVED LOCK-STITCH MACHINES FOR Tailors and Dressmakers. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

HOVEY & BAKER'S HIGHEST PREMIUM ELASTIC SUPPORTERS. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

HOWE'S SEWING MACHINE COMPANY.—E.M.S. HOWE. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

DIAPHRAGM TABLET, S. G. WELLES, for Indigestion and heartburn. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

WHEELER & WILSON'S LOCK-STITCH SEWING MACHINE and Sewing-Machine. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

Cartes Visites, \$3 per dozen; Duplicates, \$2. For sale at No. 12 N. 1st St., New-York.

New-York Daily Tribune.

MONDAY, JULY 30, 1866.

TRIPLE SHEET.

The session of the House closed on Saturday with three cheers for "our noble Speaker," proposed by Mr. Strong, a Democrat, and heartily responded to by all present.

The Army bill, as passed, annually, provides for the addition to the regular army of 54 companies of infantry, two companies to be added to each of the existing 27 battalions; eight new regiments of infantry, four of which shall be Veteran Reserves, and four colored troops; and also four additional regiments of cavalry.

In the last hour of the session of Congress the President sent in a veto of the bill to erect the Territory of Montana into a surveying district. Executive exceptions are taken to the sale of 18 alternate odd sections of land to the New-York Iron Mining and Manufacturing Company, at \$1 25 per acre, provided for in the bill. The company is organized under the laws of the State of New-York, and the President objects to granting it extraordinary privilege, and control of so much property in another State. To the first three sections of the bill, providing for the appointment of a surveyor-general, register, and receiver, there are no objections, save that they seem to be intended only to cover over and carry through the Mining Company's land grant section.

Our Washington correspondent gives an amusing account of the night session of the House, from which we find that the political disputes of members have had no permanent effect on personal good feeling. Thaddeus Stevens, who had sat up all night, the next morning made a speech for freedom, a fact which gives good reason to hope he will make many more. Mr. Randall, a Pennsylvania Democrat, offered the resolution of thanks to the Speaker, and, with the next reply of Mr. Colfax, the session ended. We print to-day a complete summary of the bills and joint resolutions passed during the session, with a review of the whole work of Congress from December 4 to July 29. From these documents, which have been prepared with great care, the legislation of the past eight months may be conveniently surveyed by the reader.

In order to give our readers the news from all parts of the world, we this morning issue a triple sheet. On the first, second and third pages we give full and interesting details of the successful laying of the Atlantic Cable, with the history of the enterprise from the earliest organization of the company to the completion of the great work of establishing communication between the continents; also, review of "The Bible on Strong Drinks"; also, on the eighth and eleventh pages will be found Congressional matter, including a synopsis of the important bills passed during the session, also general foreign news and New-Jersey Items; on the ninth page, additional reports of the great implement trial at Albany, N. Y. of Bayard Taylor's "Trip to Colorado," scientific matter, "Congressional Library," "New-York and Norfolk," and news from Canada; on the tenth, Mexican news, letter from Shenandoah Valley, law, commercial, and marine intelligence.

It was remarked before the Board of Health that of 75,000 members of the Father Mathew Society in New-York not one had yet suffered an attack of

cholera. What number, if any, of Odd Fellows, Free Masons, American Protestants, Fenians, Scandinavians and German societies have fallen under the single or mingled influence of heat, bad digestion, or evil beer or whisky, we do not know, and it is not worth while finding out. The extent of the cholera thus far bears so small a proportion to the healthy membership of the Father Mathew Society, and the numbers of that organization are so small in turn compared to the population of the city, that it would be quite impossible to reason from the first fact, except on very general principles, were it not that so many of the victims of the cholera are Irish, and that many of the disciples of Father Mathew are their neighbors. Looking this way, the practice of temperance appears by no means a bad sanitary precaution. Further, we might ask how far rum decisions aid the cholera, but the question is needless. We know that the rum judges have decided for King Cholera in preference to Father Mathew. We know that an injunction in favor of the bone-bollers, fat-melters and the pest-house follows logically an injunction in behalf of the grog-shop, the poor-house, and the hospital. Why not? The champions of delirium and epidemic—that is what the judicial engineers amount to in the last analysis—are one and the same. How long can even Father Mathew stand the deadly attacks made upon him, if he lives in a neighborhood of injunctive cholera, flanked with bone-boiling and fat-melting establishments and abattoirs, and catenacomed with grog-shops? The rum-drinkers will not be a whit comforted to know that our city judges are their friends even to the death.

On Saturday, for the sixth time during the session, Senator Doolittle protested that he had saved the Union party from annihilation in Wisconsin, and complained bitterly of the base ingratitude of said party because it now refused to save him. Poor Doolittle!

A diabolical system of kidnapping has been reported to the Navy Department, the trapping of freedmen on shipboard at Pensacola Bay, and selling them as slaves in Cuba. One of these slave sloops was seized by a United States vessel, and found to have on board 150 freedmen. Yet we have votes of the Civil Rights bill! Yet *The Times* says the freedmen must look to old slaveholders for justice and protection! It is said that parties in New-York are implicated in this diabolical business, and undoubtedly outrages possible in the South must share their share of the terrible responsibility.

THE ATLANTIC CABLE.

A hope often deferred, and by many almost abandoned, has at length been fulfilled. The cable across the Atlantic, connecting the Old World and the New, is an accomplished fact, and we are able to publish this morning European news only three days old. The intelligence of this great success will be received with feelings of the most lively joy by the people of this country. It is another grand step in the onward march of civilization; for this cable will unquestionably prove a powerful agency in promoting international comity, and in furthering the ends of a healthy commercial intercourse. Every friend of progress, of peace, of humanity, will rejoice that what has been so long a dream is now in a fair way of becoming a reality. From the shores of the north-western portion of this continent the telegraphic wire is being carried into Russia; the world will soon be gridded with this instrument for the transmission of thought with the lightning's speed; and thus "the ends of the earth will be brought together," in fulfillment of ancient prophecy.

The success of this grand undertaking will constitute an epoch in the world's history, of which the record of the enterprise will form one of the most dramatic pages. Future generations will read with intense interest of the steps by which success was ultimately gained. How the many obstacles that presented themselves were, by means of a steady perseverance and a noble courage, eventually overcome; how repeated failures, instead of disheartening, only induced redoubled exertions to accomplish the great end in view; how scientific enthusiasm and practical skill combined to sustain effort and give it the greatest possible efficiency; how the improvements in naval architecture, of which the construction of the Great Eastern is the proudest trophy, prepared the way for the carrying out of the enterprise—all these, and other equally interesting points, will continue to attract attention as long as the human family take an interest in the successive steps by which the world advanced to that high state of civilization toward which it is now rapidly moving. "Peace hath its victories," and the success of the Atlantic Cable will ever be regarded as one of the most glorious of them.

The originators and promoters of this enterprise have earned the gratitude of the world for their noble efforts in the work. They deserve all honor, and more substantial rewards, it is to be hoped, will not be wanting for them. The American people will reflect with satisfaction and pride upon the prominent part taken in the enterprise throughout by Mr. Cyrus W. Field. It is hardly too much to say that but for his persevering efforts the cable might still have been among things possible.

A fact more emphatic than any comment, is that today we publish news from Europe to the 27th of July. In less than a week we expect to print every morning the important European news of the day before. It is impossible to realize at once a fact of such tremendous significance.

THE CASE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

We have heard that the friends of Jefferson Davis profess their ability to overthrow the testimony of the witness Lewis F. Bates. Bates, it will be remembered, swore that when the dispatch of Gen. Breckinridge, announcing the assassination of Lincoln, was received by Davis, he remarked: "Well, General, I don't know that if it were done at all, it were better that it were well done, and if the same had been done to Andrew Johnson, the best, and Secretary Stanton, the job would be completed." Davis's confidants believe it can be proved that Bates was not about at the time the telegram from Breckinridge was received. They assert that on hearing the news he, singularly, made no remark. Both variations have points of curiosity. One thing, however, is not denied—that Davis was in proper person at Bates's house in Charlottesville on the day of the dispatch. If, as it appears, the Investigating Committee have established the fact that the Secret Service Fund of the Confederacy was absolutely in the custody of Davis, they have made sure of their first point. That a plot was entertained to blow up Washington; that Blackburn, the small-pox Borgias, was contracted to burn the Mississippi steamers; that a conspiracy to burn New-York was planned and set on foot; and that the agents of these several enterprises were all found in neighborhood with the managers of the assassination, is proof presumptive that the agency which embraced such desperadoes as boat-burners, hotel-burners, and small-pox propagandists, had also its paid assassins. If Davis encouraged his subordinates to license the burning of peaceful cities, he was no better than a desperado himself. If he was responsible for the inhuman treatment of our prisoners, who is ready to doubt that he was the most wretched of assassins? But plausible showing does not end here. The evidence on the trial of the assassins, and memoranda marked Dr. J. W. Booth, found together with letters of now well-known secret agents in the Rebel archives, go measurably to show that both Booth and Suratt were in the employ of the Rebellion. Granted that Blackburn (about whom there is no doubt, Suratt, Booth, and the rest, were in the

secret service of Jefferson Davis, what would remain to be shown? Could Secretary Benjamin have been blamed for any of the crimes committed in the name of war, and Davis, the reported custodian of the blood-money, be guiltless? Or would the notorious Jacob Thompson have been guilty, and his master, Davis, innocent? Equally hard is it to believe that the assassination could have been conducted without a great deal more money than any of the conspirators were known to possess in their own individual resources; and proof is entirely wanting to show that it was an independent conspiracy, solely gotten up by a monomania. History teaches us that such men do their work alone. Booth traveled to his tragedy in cut-throat company.

The testimony so far gathered has been sufficient, after the lapse of a year, to strongly impress some of the ablest and fairest men of the land—among them Gov. Boutwell and Judge-Advocate Holt. Such testimony must inevitably have weight with the loyal people, however much it may be contemned on the other hand. We suppose that every citizen in the land is conscious of a mystery in the events of the assassination that remains to be solved and decided. Those who attach no importance whatever to the chain of fact and inference drawn from the wholesale murder of prisoners to the taking off of one man in Washington, discredited their country long before they ceased to suspect its enemies. Proof may be yet wanting to place the finger of justice on the prime mover; but, outside of their task in the courts, the champions of the complaining prisoner in the Fort must confront history, and overcome the judgment of men. In common with nine-tenths of the American people, we do most seriously suspect Jefferson Davis. We have heard that, above all men in Washington, President Johnson did not; but of that no matter. We have not failed to demand, in the interests of the country, his speedy and impartial trial, or, in default of proof rendering his enlargement dangerous to justice, his prompt release like other prisoners held for trial. The national supposition which rests on this one man presses him forward to a public trial. The facts of the investigation give renewed emphasis to the demand that he shall be tried. Further than to enforce this demand, we have not judged his case.

THE RUN JUDGES.

What is to be done with our Judges short of having to put up with them? A judge who pledges himself to run and the pestilence is not only an unsound lawyer, a bad judge, and a legal incubus, but he is, besides, a dangerous member of society. What is to be done with him? Both run and the cholera, as the experience of half a year has proved, could be spirited out of the way, if we could only get good riddance of some of our judges. They, after all, are the real nuisance, which the experiments of the Boards of Health and Excise seem to be powerless to disinfest. We cannot sprinkle their decisions with chloride of lime; so what is the use of trying to dissipate epidemic? The efforts of the Board of Health tend one way, those of our city judges go another. Health, reason, morals and common sense, working in the city's behalf, have been met at every important step by an injunction. It was never more necessary than now that the groggeries should be closed; but an injunction kept them open. The public health is the first concern of a city, but the last, it seems, of a city judge, wherefore let no one be surprised that the course of judicial decisions in our city courts has been uniformly favorable to bad liquor first and bad health afterward. Between perpetuating the grogshop and keeping in full blast the bone-boiling and fat-melting nuisance, while the health of the city is suffering as it never suffered before, it is not needful to show the relation. Our city judges have made it manifest beyond doubt or cavil that a judge who protects rum by a decision is equally ready to protect cholera by an injunction. No amount of respect for judicial opinion and of toleration for legal perversity can long withstand the raids that have been made daily from the bench upon the public health. The war is serious the moment a single victim falls by the epidemic, and all who survive are bound to make common cause against the bench. It is said, in behalf of the rum-judges, that they are honest men, and are bound to interpret the law according to their lights, whether their judgment conflicts with the popular opinion or not. We shall try to estimate this plea at its worth. Have we heard of one of our judges running counter to the interest that elected him? Have not most of them been found in direct hostility to the public conscience? Remarkably, not one of their legal orders have ever leaned to virtue's side, while the drift of their every decision, sufficiently important to draw general attention, has been invariably opposed to every reform, no matter how well supported by enactment or approved by the intelligent voice of the community. It has become a judicial axiom that in doubtful cases of legal interpretation, decision is to be rendered on the side which is manifestly that of the public good. If such a doubt existed either in the case of the Excise law or that of the recent injunctions in favor of bone-boiling, the duty of our judges was clear. The student or reader of the laws against the excess in liquor traffic, and in preservation of the health of the city, cannot believe for a moment that these laws were ineffective for their objects, were our judges in sympathy with the general good. They have preferred to strain a point in favor of the worst evils which threaten the community; and with no pleasant antecedents to fall back upon, their record for years is an account of disgrace long outstanding. Whether knavery or stupidity solve the problem of judicial unfitness, the public is of one mind that they are unsuited to their places.

The highest and most earnest good of every citizen in New-York demands that the evils of the bench should be abolished. We speak no news when we say what has been a home truth to the vast majority of this community for years past—that our judicial system should be reformed. We may do this by having good lawyers appointed to the bench to hold office during good behavior—we may consolidate and change the business of some of the Courts now exercising large coordinate powers; but we can do nothing without an appeal to the constitutional right of the people to alter and amend their institutions. How long the temper of the public can brook such decisions as have lately insulted the good sense of this community we cannot tell. We have only knowledge of the almost incredible enormities endured at the swindling hands of the "King," and from the grasping greed of corporators, backed by an immoral municipality and bench. We cannot long stand two classes of assailants in our places of greatest advantage and power—the batteries we have erected against evil-doers turned by evil-doers against ourselves. We cannot afford to cherish a pestilence on the bench or have our courts an eternized nuisance. We must be sure that those employed to serve us do not make us their slaves, and we must appeal to the people to right themselves by the powers of the Constitution, and put an end to the evils of such an elective judiciary as now disgraces and oppresses New-York.

The House insisted on the provision in the appropriation bill, increasing the salaries of members from \$3,000 to \$5,000 per annum, and rejected the provision for the equalization of soldiers' bounties; the Senate rejected the salary provision, but insisted on the bounty clause, and there was a dead lock that promised for a short time to defeat two unwise measures; but soon the Houses entered into an understanding with each other whereby the members paid themselves \$2,000 each extra, and increased the public expenditure

over \$300,000,000 to pay bounties to soldiers in certain cases, under a system that will leave their receipts about as unequal as they now are. Mr. Fessenden very properly said, that "somebody else beside the soldiers ought to be consulted on this question." Outside of the ranks of the army, the people will be found opposed to the appropriation of so large a sum of money for this purpose. Fifty or a hundred dollars will afford but little and temporary satisfaction to the soldier, while the bill will render necessary an amount of taxation that will be felt through many years.

THE TREATY OF PEACE. Telegraphs have always been classed among the chief apostles of peace and peaceful progress, and it will, therefore, be regarded as a remarkable coincidence that on the first day of our telegraphic communication with the Old World we receive the news that a treaty of peace has been signed between Austria and Prussia. The information conveyed by the telegraph is, of course, meager, but it is sufficiently definite to leave no doubt that Austria has acceded to all the chief demands of Prussia.

We are not yet fully informed about all these demands, but we know, from official and semi-official declarations of the Prussian Government, that the most essential condition of peace is the withdrawal of Austria from the German Confederation, which will now be reconstructed under the sole and undisputed lead of Prussia. It is equally certain that Prussia will now keep the two Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, whether as a Prussian province or under the semblance of semi-independence remains to be seen. Moreover, semi-official Prussian papers have declared, in accordance with the opinion expressed by Louis Napoleon in his letter to Drouyn de Lhuys, that Prussia must insist on having the western and the eastern portions of the kingdom permanently connected. We have to wait for later accounts to know if this rectification of frontier is to be effected by means of annexation or by exchange of provinces. We are, on the other hand, assured that Prussia was not to claim the cession of Bohemia and Moravia, and as the ground of this restriction the non-German character of their population is adduced. Such a ground seems to suggest that Prussia might desire the annexation, or at least the separation from Austria, of those provinces, which are purely German, as Upper and Lower Austria and Salzburg. It is, however, probable that, having obtained the chief end of her ambition, Prussia will not insist on demanding any Austrian territory, but leave the fate of the Germans of Austria to be decided by the future.

However this question may be settled, the triumph of Prussia is complete. Whatever the nominal relation of the smaller German States in the reconstructed Confederation may be, virtually the new Confederation, with its population of over 40,000,000 of people, will be identical with Prussia, which henceforth will not be second, in power and influence, to any of the great European Powers.

THE MISSISSIPPI LEVEES.

Congress has seen fit to withhold the appropriation of money for the reconstruction of the broken levees on the Mississippi River, and thereby millions of acres of the most productive lands in the country are resigned to the floods for another year, and the vast revenue from their products lost to the Treasury. It is to be hoped that our representatives will, during the recess, examine the whole subject of the protection of the valley of the Mississippi from overflow. It will not attain the object to appropriate or loan money to the States for the prosecution of this work; that has been tried in better days and failed. In 1850, Congress granted to the States in the valley of the Mississippi all the lands subject to overflow, with the express provision that the proceeds of the sale thereof should be applied exclusively, as far as necessary, to the purpose of reclaiming and protecting said lands by means of levees and drains. The value of these lands was sufficient to levee the banks of the Mississippi 30 feet high from the Gulf of Mexico to St. Louis, but the munificent donation was squandered, parcelled out to ruling politicians, who were thus made wealthy, and who subsequently employed their ill-gotten gains to incite and carry on rebellion. If confiscation is to be enforced, here is a proper field for its application. At least the title to such portions of these lands as yet remain unsold should be resumed by the United States Government, and, after reclamation and protection, sold for the benefit of the levee fund.

By making an exception in Mr. Patterson's case, Congress would have been, by set precedent, at liberty to make as many exceptions to the test-act as it pleases. The concurring vote of both Houses constitute the folding-doors of admission, through which not even Mr. Patterson entered. Every new applicant, who cannot take the oath, must enter by this narrow opening, and a good many Greeks have yet to find their way into the Senate and House before Congress admits the Trojan horse and yields to a siege. There is less need than ever to repeal the oath, since Mr. Patterson on Saturday took the unmodified oath, and was regularly sworn in as a Senator.

The Journal of Commerce charges the Collector of Customs with having sold the warehouse privilege, as a monopoly, to a single party for the sum of \$40,000. It is said similar negotiations had been made by former Collectors, and that merchants, compelled by law to store in the designated houses, pay exorbitant storage rates to reimburse the keeper in the privilege money, and also to enable him to realize large profits on his investments. The practice is a fraudulent perversion of the intents of the law, which should be summarily corrected by the proper authority.

Messrs. Ben. and Fernando Wood have already taken proprietary notice of the Philadelphia Convention. They do not object to allowing a delegation of Republicans to come in, provided they behave themselves—"provided," says the apostle of Peace and Chance, "they stand squarely on the principles of the Randall call." If they honestly set up to it we shall be glad to see them there. But there must be no looking one way and rowing another." We beg Mr. Raymond's attention.

By a special telegram from New-Orleans it will be seen that the Rebels propose to break up the Constitutional Convention by force. We hope the President is pleased with the results of his policy. The Attorney-General of Louisiana has telegraphed the President that the Convention is bogus, that Gov. Welles is in league with the Radicals, against some of whom the Courts are about to take action. The President directs that the military shall neither oppose the Courts nor the Convention, which is equivalent to leaving the Convention to the mercy of its enemies.

The Richmond Enquirer seriously wonders whether this contest will "proceed to blood." In the first place, there is nobody who wants to fight, and, in the second place, there is nobody who wants to be fought. The only fighting man we know is Raymond; and, as he is one way this week and another way the next, he will be kept pretty busy fighting himself. And, under such circumstances, we do not think the conflict will "proceed to blood."

Mr. Derees has been removed from an office which he creditably filled, to make way for Gen. Steadman, who has recently been performing the duties of a not very creditable office. Steadman has stood by the President, and we admire the promptitude with which he has been rewarded.

THE END OF THE SESSION.

The Spirit and the Work of the First Session of the Thirty-Ninth Congress.

REVIEW OF THE POLICY OF RECONSTRUCTION.

When the Thirty-ninth Congress assembled at Washington, December 4, 1865, it found the national affairs in unprecedented confusion. Seven months before, the President had declared all armed opposition to the Government ended. For nine months Congress had not been in session. When it adjourned, March 4, the war still raged. Sherman was sweeping through North Carolina, and had not yet reached Fayetteville. Sheridan was moving up the Shenandoah, beating the Rebels under Gen. Early on his way to Lynchburg. Petersburg and Richmond still bristled with Rebel guns, and Grant's vast army lay undisturbed before their walls. Lee was appealing to the people of North Carolina for provisions, and at the same time the Southern press was loudly boasting that Grant and Sherman would be beaten in detail. No one could certainly say when the war would end, though all knew that the end was near. Recruiting, stimulated by an overhanging draft, was proceeding in the North, and the Rebellion presented a bold and defiant front. Abraham Lincoln was still President, and on the very day of its adjournment the Senate was convened in extra session to take part in his reinauguration. None of the men who listened that day to the Inaugural Address of Andrew Johnson imagined that in a few weeks he would become the head of the Government. The future was bright. The clouds of war were dispersing, and the Thirty-eighth Congress ended its existence in the faith that our National troubles were nearly over, and trusting implicitly in the ability and integrity of the President, who by four years of war had been thoroughly tested and taught. For nine months the administration of the Government was to be trusted to the Executive alone, yet no one dreamed that the National policy was to be reversed.

Hardly had the members of Congress reached their homes before the whole country was filled with rejoicing over the fall of Richmond; and, triumph after triumph, came the surrender of Lee and his whole army. Then the shoutings, the tumult, the thunders of a thousand cannon, were silenced by the single pistol-shot that ended the life of Abraham Lincoln. Even while his funeral procession passed slowly through the land, Sherman received from the hand of Johnston the last broken sword of the Rebellion. The terms he granted to the enemy were thought far too lenient by the people, and were instantly rescinded by the new President. Then a few persons insisted on Providence by declaring that God had removed Mr. Lincoln because a sterner mind was needed for the work of reconstruction, as if, like a poor politician, Heaven was only to succeed in its purposes by the assassination of a good man. Still, the nation felt safe with Mr. Johnson. Had he not saved the treason with a crime and must be made odious, and that traitors must be punished! He would hang them as he would hang the traitors, he said, but the fall of the future was not yet lifted to reveal only the foul assassins, and the wretched tool of worse men, swinging upon the gallows. No one looked forward to the long, serious imprisonment of Jeff. Davis, and the humiliating spectacle of a Government afraid either to try or to release its chief enemy. The people had not yet recovered from the shock of Mr. Lincoln's death before a Presidential proclamation, dated May 2, offered a reward of \$100,000 for Jeff. Davis, and charged him with inciting and procuring the assassination. His arrest speedily followed, and to this time the terrible charge has never been withdrawn nor proved. About the time of his capture, the President in repeated speeches declared that the attempt to assassinate the Republic was a greater crime than the murder of an individual, and deserved as severe a punishment. In this spirit, May 22, he apologized for extending mercy to certain miscreants " Sons of Liberty " in Indiana, and hoped that his action would not be construed into a preference of leniency to justice. His Proclamation of Amnesty followed, May 29, and excepted 14 classes, in which were included nearly all the influential Southern citizens. If fully carried out his announced policy of dealing severely with the leaders of the Rebellion, Early in May the trial of the assassins began, and an effort was made by the prosecution, in behalf of the Government, to prove Davis cognizant of the crime. From all these events it was reasonably supposed that the President would continue to enforce the stern principles which he had so often and so emphatically defended.

But before midsummer a new policy was indicated. In June delegates from the South were first admitted to private interviews with the President. On the 17th of June his proclamation providing for the restoration of civil government in Georgia and Alabama was issued, and it disappointed the nation, by its deliberate exclusion of blacks from the category of loyal citizens entitled to vote. Few, however, were disposed to censure Mr. Johnson severely for this omission, though a majority of the Union party held that the Government had a perfect right to entrust State reorganization to all loyal citizens, without the slightest restriction to the dead laws which were based on the slave system. Other intimations of opposition to the established principles of the Union party were soon given. The President's appointments of Provisional Governors for the Southern States were received with joy by the late Rebels, and with sorrow by the North. Governor Perry, of South Carolina, shortly after his appointment, said in a public speech, July 3, "There is not now in the Southern States any one who feels more bitterly the humiliation and degradation of going back into the Union than I do." These words alone, it was thought, should have secured his instant dismissal from office, but they were coupled with significant praise of the President—praise which properly interpreted was censure. Governor Perry assured his people that the death of Mr. Lincoln was no loss to the South, while he had every hope that Mr. Johnson, as an old slaveholding Democrat, would be an advantage. Immediately following these events—even in Alexandria, under the very eyes of the Government—the old spirit of secession, which seemed to have perished with Lee's army, revived with new vigor. Southern leaders openly followed Governor Perry in declaring the restoration of the Union a degrading necessity. In Alabama the Convention prohibited negroes from testifying in the courts. The people who had for four years done all in their power to destroy the Union now coolly began to talk of taking an immediate part in its Government. Gov. Perry, in November, again emphasizing the President, coupled with his compliments a peremptory demand that, when Congress met, the Clerk of the House should call the names of men elected from the un-reconstructed States. In the same month Mr. Johnson wrote to Gov. Perry, who hesitated about adopting the amendment abolishing Slavery, that the clause giving Congress the power to enforce it by appropriate legislation, really limited Congressional control over the subject!

This assured that Congress had no right to legislate for the negro after he had been freed. Gov. Perry's fears were allayed, and South Carolina adopted the amendment. People wondered at Mr. Johnson's strange exposition of Congressional enactments, and their surprise was not diminished when he publicly disclaimed any intention to dictate to the Rebel States, adding that he wished only to mildly and kindly advise. These signs, which alarmed loyal men, delighted the old Northern friends of the Rebellion, and as early as August a Copperhead convention endorsed Mr. Johnson's policy. In September the majority of the Copperhead papers began to praise him. Still the Union party did not oppose him; it dissented from the tendencies of his policy, but it waited, and hoped. Its organs even declared against the Copperheads who insulted him by affirming that he had deserted the party which elected him, scolding the idea with indignation which time has shown to have been the most intense, though unconscious, irony. "Mr. Johnson," said THE TRIBUNE, in reply to these taunts, "the honorable faculty of John Tyler in seeking a self-aggrandizement through the ruin of the great party which elected him, and no man has ever had a deeper loathing than he for the character of Benedict Arnold." October and November the President employed in attempting to reconcile his old policy with the new one, but with less success than he probably desired. We did not complain of his magnanimity to Rebels; that we could have heartily approved if its dangerous tendencies had been neutralized by justice to black Unionists. The bitter conviction was forced upon us that the kind of mercy by

which the enemies of the Union was destined to be unmitigated cruelty to its friends.

Thus when Congress assembled, December 4, it found that great things had been done during the legislative vacation. It had left the war raging; it found it ended. It left Jeff. Davis a traitor at Richmond; it found him a prisoner in solitary confinement, and charged with conspiracy in murder. It left Abraham Lincoln, the ruler of the nation; it found—not him, but his grave. It found Andrew Johnson the successor of his place, but practically the repudiation of his policy. It was confronted with new men and new duties, with a political situation unprecedented in the history of the country. On the very opening day of the session, the representatives from the Rebel States attempted to take part in its proceedings. Fortunately for the nation, Mr. Edward McPherson, the Clerk of the House, had the ability to understand, and the courage to execute his duty. The House was organized by the representatives of the loyal States alone, and the election of Schuyler Colfax removed all immediate danger. But the future was dark with perils of unknown magnitude. Action was demanded. We hold it to be the duty of the nation that Thaddeus Stevens on that day, offered the famous resolution by which Congress was saved from the disgrace of having Rebels to legislate upon the conditions of their own return. Resolved (by the Senators and House of Representatives in Congress assembled), That a joint Committee of 15 shall be appointed, nine of whom shall be members of the House and six of the Senate, who shall inquire into the condition of the States which formed the so-called Confederate States of America, and report whether they, or any of them, are entitled to be represented in either House of Congress, with leave to report, at any time, by bill or otherwise; and until such report shall have been made and finally acted upon by Congress, no member shall be received in either House from any of the so-called Confederate States, and all papers relating to the Representatives of the said States shall be referred to the said Committee. This resolution gave Congress the basis of a policy from the beginning. It was passed in the House by a vote of 123 to 95, receiving the approval of Mr. Raymond and a few others, who have since opposed the principles it embodied. Though the last clause was struck out by the Senate, its efficiency was not impaired.

The President's message, which was read the next day, though more moderate than had been expected, placed him at once in opposition to the Union party, by his assertion that "a concession of the elective franchise to the freedmen by act of the President of the United States must have been extended to all colored men, wherever found, and as must have established a change of suffrage in the Northern, Middle, and Western States, not less than in the Southern and South-Western." This argument, if valid in one respect was valid in all; from that day to this no one has dared to deny that want of power to interfere with the Rebel States in this instance—implied want of power altogether. We held then, we hold now, that the President had precisely the same right to authorize loyal black citizens to vote that he had to appoint Provisional Governors. His argument omitted the all-important fact that the Rebellion had placed the North and South in very different relations to the Government.

THE END OF THE SESSION.

The Spirit and the Work of the First Session of the Thirty-Ninth Congress.

REVIEW OF THE POLICY OF RECONSTRUCTION.

When the Thirty-ninth Congress assembled at Washington, December 4, 1865, it found the national affairs in unprecedented confusion. Seven months before, the President had declared all armed opposition to the Government ended. For nine months Congress had not been in session. When it adjourned, March 4, the war still raged. Sherman was sweeping through North Carolina, and had not yet reached Fayetteville. Sheridan was moving up the Shenandoah, beating the Rebels under Gen. Early on his way to Lynchburg. Petersburg and Richmond still bristled with Rebel guns, and Grant's vast army lay undisturbed before their walls. Lee was appealing to the people of North Carolina for provisions, and at the same time the Southern press was loudly boasting that Grant and Sherman would be beaten in detail. No one could certainly say when the war would end, though all knew that the end was near. Recruiting, stimulated by an overhanging draft, was proceeding in the North, and the Rebellion presented a bold and defiant front. Abraham Lincoln was still President, and on the very day of its adjournment the Senate was convened in extra session to take part in his reinauguration. None of the men who listened that day to the Inaugural Address of Andrew Johnson imagined that in a few weeks he would become the head of the Government. The future was bright. The clouds of war were dispersing, and the Thirty-eighth Congress ended its existence in the faith that our National troubles were nearly over, and trusting implicitly in the ability and integrity of the President, who by four years of war had been thoroughly tested and taught. For nine months the administration of the Government was to be trusted to the Executive alone, yet no one dreamed that the National policy was to be reversed.

Hardly had the members of Congress reached their homes before the whole country was filled with rejoicing over the fall of Richmond; and, triumph after triumph, came the surrender of Lee and his whole army. Then the shoutings, the tumult, the thunders of a thousand